UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

The Disarmament Amendment

By SYDNEY STRONG

Parables of War and Peace

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

What the World Looks Like Today

By SHERWOOD EDDY

The Boston Red Cap Porter

By LUTHER MARION FULLER

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CV MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1930 NUMBER 18

THE MARKET STREET CLOCK

Tick-tock, tick-tock,
I am the voice of the Market Street Clock
The din of the day and the noise of the night
Though driven by fear and the powers of might
Are never enough to obliterate quite
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock.
Listen, come closer, a story I tell:
The tale of a man they railroaded to hell.
But they fear me, they fear me; they know it full well,
That the hearts of mankind would revolt at the shock,
And the noise of the street seems to drown the tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
The small pleading voice of the Market Street Clock.

Tick-tock, tick-tock;
I hear in the grey hours of morning, the walk
Of the uniformed guardian of order and law.
If you ask him he'll tell you; he knows what I saw,
When justice was ravished with talon and claw,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tom Mooney was taken away in his prime;
On my face the bright sunbeams had started to climb,
So they blotted my features with dirt and with grime,
But man cannot hold back the finger of time,
It contemptuously spurns his vain boasting and talk;
His mean, hypocritical efforts to mock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
The accusing small voice of the Market Street Clock.

Tick-tock, tick-tock,
I heard them, I heard them, their babble and talk,
"Let's frame him!" "Let's hang him!" Then what do I see?
Tom Mooney in jail and the murderers go free!
Yet ere they have done they must reckon with ME!
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Beware, San Francisco, some day you will rock,
In courthouse and mansion, in warehouse and dock;
A mightier earthquake will come with a shock
When the lips that are sealed now be opened to talk
And the gates of San Quentin be forced to unlock,
As JUSTICE commands them with thunderous knock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
The prophetic voice of the Market Street Clock.

Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Heart-beat and pulse-beat forever resound;
The days and the months, and the throb of the years;
A sorrowing wife and a mother in tears
But calmly I wait. I am stranger to fears;
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock.

They have hope, they have faith, I have KNOWLEDGE, I KNOW,
The mills of the gods grind exceedingly slow
But the cycle of time ultimately will show
How the powers of corruption will all have to go,
Their temple of lies will be wrecked by the shock.
They shall hear in their passing the rhythmic tick-tock
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
Tick-tock, tick-tock,
The terrible voice of the Market Street Clock.

DOUGLAS ROBSON.

Zion's Herald, one of the bravest of our church papers, is doing a fine thing in uncovering and condemning the hostility of Christian missionaries in India to Gandhi and his cause. We remember when we first encountered this hostility in 1922 in the person of a missionary crossing the Atlantic to return to his post after a year "on leave." This man was cultured, liberal, and we have no doubt, courageous and self-sacrificing, but what he said about Gandhi would have better expressed the sentiments of a ward-politician than of a disciple of Jesus Christ. Now, in the present crisis in India, the missionaries are at it again. Not all missionaries! C. F. Andrews and Bishop Fisher are examples of the other kind. But most missionaries are like Bishop Brenton T. Badley, of Bombay, who is busy using his great office in denouncing Gandhi and opposing his movement. Of course, it is natural that missionaries should act this way. They are in India as the guests and under the protection of the *Raj,* and like Christians everywhere they support the government. Furthermore, the Mahatma himself is a persistent occasion of aggravation in his refusal to become a Christian, and in his embarrassing success in demonstrating the beauty and power of sanctity outside the Christian fold. But however natural the opposition of the missionaries to Gandhi's cause, this opposition is none the less disgraceful. Christians anywhere who fail to recognize and reverence the Christ-likeness of the great Indian leader are themselves revealed as no Christians at all. These blind and intolerant men would have opposed the Christ had they been living in his time. That the missionaries in India today should be active revolutionaries is not perhaps to be expected. But "the Christian enterprise in India," to quote the *Christian Century,*

"should show sufficient comprehension of the underlying spiritual motives in that movement and sympathy for the demand of a larger freedom for India so that the leaders of the nationalist movement will see in Christianity a source of encouragement and not a handicap. Yet as we write we have before us several copies of that influential weekly, the *Indian Social Reformer,* which makes precisely this charge. Mr. Natarajan,

the editor, is easily the most conspicuous figure in India in the field of humanitarian effort. He is not a thick-and-thin supporter of Mahatma Gandhi. Indeed, he has criticized several aspects of the present Gandhi campaign. But he speaks with solemn regret of the failure of the missionary press in India—naming a Catholic and a Protestant paper as conspicuous examples—to appreciate the moral significance of the Gandhi movement."

We find a great and wicked satisfaction in the enactment of the new tariff bill. Months of discussion, in which the Senate has done notable service, have shown that this bill breaks all records for barefaced robbery. But what of it? The protective tariff has always been a form of robbery. In its early and more modest days, as now in its later and utterly shameless days, its deliberate and direct purpose has been to take money systematically from the private pockets of the people and hand this money over to the private exchequers of certain favored manufacturers. The public power of taxation, in other words, has been passed over to a small group of individuals for their own personal advantage and profit. This fact has been exposed again and again. The very existence of the Republican Party has been based upon this fact. Yet the people believe in Protection! At least, they have supported the sponsors and advocates of this policy for lo, these many years! Now they have gotten the biggest dose of their own medicine they have ever gotten in their lives. Let them take it, and suffer till death itself were welcome! With the passage of this bill the present business depression enters upon a new and more dreadful phase. Foreign trade, already seriously slackened, will quickly drop to a minimum. This will be followed by a slow but sure withering of domestic trade. Commercial paralysis at home and abroad! Then, with the coming on of autumn and winter, unemployment will be with us like a Mississippi flood. Our cities will be engulfed with misery, our factories idle, and of course our farmers as wretched as ever. Washington will be unfalteringly optimistic. As the administration is now promising that business revival will come this fall, so this fall it will promise the revival after New Year's, and after New Year's in the spring. But promises will provide no bread for hungry stomachs. Protection will still be doing its fatal work. So, as one who hates Protection, we get a grim and gruesome gratification out of this situation. We believe it to be a wholesome thing, in the long run, for evil to do its worst.

We rejoice that one man has at last had the courage to stand upon a political platform and state the truth about the present conspiracy to wreck the Eighteenth Amendment and restore the blessings of booze to the United States. The man to whom we refer is Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale, who invaded the "wettest" state on all the eastern coast, New Jersey, to state the facts about the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, the recent campaign which has flooded the land with "wet" propaganda, and incidentally the candidacy of Dwight Morrow. At the root of the conspiracy are the U. S. Brewers' Association and all the old-time liquor interests of this nation, still as active as ever. The respectable agency behind which these disreputables hide, and through which they act, is the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, which is composed of a little group of millionaires plus a $25,000 a year president. This group captured the Democratic Party machinery in 1928, and met smashing defeat with "Al" Smith. Now they are seeking to capture the Republican Party. But let Professor Fisher tell the story, which is its own sufficient commentary:

Powerful interests, with direct money stakes pronounced by them to range into the hundreds of millions of dollars annually, have centered in a group of millionaires supporting the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment and kindred organizations, in a natural political alliance with the United States Brewers' Association, and in a high-pressure publicity campaign to mislead the public as to the results of Prohibition; to destroy both the law and its enforcement and to put into the Presidency in 1928, as they are again preparing to do in 1932, their own representative to bring about nullification or repeal.

It is possible that, after their failure to elect a wet Democratic President in 1928, this group of millionaire wets now hopes to supplant the candidacy of Herbert Hoover for a second term with a candidate of their own, a fellow millionaire this time in the majority party, who has already in the present Senatorial campaign in New Jersey, pronounced in favor of repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

They are already grooming Governor Roosevelt of New York as the Democratic wet candidate for 1932. The preferred object of the millionaire group would be to achieve the nomination of a wet candidate for each party in the national election, and thus to assure the election of a wet President to an office which is the most powerful instrument of publicity in the nation.

Ex-Governor Smith became the standard-bearer of the National Democratic party in 1928, with an erstwhile Republican, John J. Raskob, as his manager. No sooner was he elected to the National Democratic Committee chairmanship than Mr. Raskob stated that he had assumed this office as a wet. Now much the same group of millionaire wets have adopted Mr. Morrow.

In their booming of Mr. Morrow for President the millionaire forwarders of the campaign against the Eighteenth Amendment are urged in a measure by their desire to shift a vast burden of taxes on the shoulders of the working classes by restoring the traffic in beer.

It is the leadership of such an organization, bitterly opposed to President Hoover's program of law observance and ordered enforcement, that hails the candidacy of Mr. Morrow. It is a leadership intent on exploiting both of the national political parties and of disrupting them, if need be, to its own ends. Its sponsorship of Mr. Morrow in New Jersey amounts to an assault on the carefully deliberated plan of the President to gain the cooperation of all law-abiding and law-respecting agencies in a fair trial of Federal prohibition. I do not accuse Mr. Morrow of consciously plotting with the brewers; Mr. Morrow means well. He doubtless never realized whose ends he was serving. Probably not even the multi-millionaire group who give such generous support to the association against the prohibition amendment know or associate with their co-contributors, the brewers.

Well, the college commencements are over! If there ever was a wholesale business, this is it. College graduates turned out by the tens of thousands, precisely like so many Ford cars! It is easy to be ribald in contemplation of this spectacle of multitudes of young men and women all educated according to formula. But we feel more the tragedy of the thing

—a tragedy which reaches down through college and academy straight into the innumerable public schools which educate the masses of the people. "Educate," did we say? How much real education is there in this blessed country of ours? Never in human history, we grant you, have there been such vast expenditures of money for educational purposes as in America today. In no country upon the surface of the globe are there such palatial school buildings, such elaborate pedagogical equipment, such faculties and foundations and "go-getter" college presidents. The material side of American education may not inaccurately be described as the eighth wonder of the world. But what is the product of this vast machinery? What results have we to show for our investment? For over a hundred years, now, we have been at this thing on a scale never known nor even dreamed of before, and yet the great majority of our people, as tested by every higher standard of intellect and spirit, remain utterly illiterate. How otherwise explain the "movies," the tabloids, the cheap magazines, the Wall Street maniacs, the Aimée MacPhersons and the Billy Sundays? How account for the fact that book circulation per person is lower in the United States than in any other civilized country? How interpret the phenomenon of a people always ready to be gulled by any foolish propaganda lie? What America lacks is culture, standards, values. And what is education for if not to create and sustain these very things?

The tercentenary celebration, now under full headway in Boston (founded 1630) and surrounding towns, already shows signs of producing at least one good result. This is a rehabilitation of the Puritans, who have been so ignorantly and viciously abused by the literary smart-alecks of the last decade. Whenever a particularly loose, disorderly and dirty age of morals appears, it becomes instantly fashionable to abuse the Puritans. This is of course inevitable, since the Puritans, among other things, were decent and honorable folk, and their memory stands therefore as a rebuke to those who would revive the sensualism of a Louis XIV or a Charles II. Needing an historical as well as a philosophical defense of their ethical laxities, the immoralists of our time have been indefatigable in their endeavor to prove, first, that the Puritans were just as beastly in their habits as the sophisticates are today, and, secondly, that their stern piety was simply a hypocritical sham for the hiding of their own disgraces. This deliberate slander of the heroic dead could of course go just so far, and then the reaction was bound to set in. And this tercentenary celebration seems to be just the occasion needed for the return to truth and sanity. Already two serious and important books have appeared, to state the facts about New England Puritanism—Prof. Morison's "Builders of the Bay Colony" and Dr. Saunderson's "Modern Religion From Puritan Origins." In both of these books we see the Puritans for what they were—men and women of exalted heroism and nobly sincere conviction, lovers of art and culture, disciplined practitioners of personal virtue, sensitive servants of public welfare, and religionists who saw in their faith moral standards as well as theological dogmas. Of course there were hypocritical pretenders among these people, just as there are hypocritical pretenders today—our libertarians, for example, who prate about new ideals of freedom when they are indulging old appetites of the flesh! But the Puritans as a whole were men and women of a noble breed, who laid the foundations of a state and opened a new era in history. God rest their souls!

Adolf Harnack, dead on June 10th last, was the greatest Christian scholar of his day. His erudition was enormous, as witness his fifteen hundred books and pamphlets on Christian history and doctrines, many of them the standard works in their field. But his stupendous knowledge was matched by a liberal spirit and a prophetic fire. His was that rare combination, in other words, of vast learning with a veritable passion for truth and its propagation in the minds of men, which found its supreme exemplar in the English-speaking world in Thomas Huxley. When Harnack delivered those famous popular lectures in Berlin which went around the globe under the title of "What Is Christianity?" he was doing the same thing that Huxley was doing all his life in his lectures in England and in America on evolution. Few men of our day could match Harnack in the library and study; none could surpass him on the public platform. We remember seeing him on the occasion of his visit to this country in 1904—a straight, wiry, vigorous, vivid figure, his hair bristling and his eyes flashing with energy, in every inch of his intellectual stature a Prussian. Then we saw him again in 1922, when we visited him at the University in Berlin. Our conversation together was rather pitiful—primarily because we had so much we were eager to say, and he had so few English and we so few German words in which to say it. But the pity of it, for us at least, ran far deeper than stumbling words. For here was a great man hopelessly broken by the War. He had lived through the four years of horror, starvation and misery in war-stricken Germany, and then through the four years of post-war confusion and desperation. Every hour of that long agony seemed written on his face and frame. His form was bent, his step feeble and shuffling, his voice a mere whisper, his eye the cold ashes of a burnt-out fire. Here was the wreck and ravage of war in the world of the intellect and spirit! We shall never

forget that afternoon with Harnack in Berlin, as we shall never cease to be grateful for the volumes from his pen upon our shelves, a vast monument of learning and enlightenment.

The Disarmament Amendment

Senator Lynn J. Frazier has introduced, in three different Congresses—the 69th, the 70th and the 71st (the present one)—an Amendment to the United States Constitution which provides that not one cent shall be spent for war or on preparations for war, "within or without the United States" nor shall any funds be raised, appropriated or expended for such purpose. This would mean the complete abolition of all armed forces. This Amendment is now in the hands of the United States Senate Judiciary Committee, with special sub-committee on this matter consisting of Senators Frederick H. Gillett, Charles S. Deneen and C. C. Dill. This committee held a hearing a few months ago, which was given considerable publicity. Few have the faith to believe that this proposal will get into the Senate, or getting there that it will receive much consideration. However, it is sure to appear, and reappear, until the people of the land are brought to a full knowledge of its import. (The Women's Peace Union, 39 Pearl St., New York City, is the pioneer in promotion.)

We give here some reasons that make such an Amendment desirable, so that in the months and years to come public opinion may be aided in the making.

First of all, we are conscious of the weighty objections that are offered to such a proposal by a large body of intelligent, sincere citizens. They run somewhat as follows: There is necessity for adequate security; several decades of peace will be necessary to prepare the way for disarmament; disarmament might place a weapon in the hands of those opposed to world understanding. However, after going carefully over the ground, we state reasons for our approval of total disarmament.

There is *no hope in armament,* no abiding peace until the man with the sword is eliminated. It is like compromise with slavery. The nations found that abolition was the only way out. A nation that is armed cannot see straight in matters pertaining to peace. Statesmen lose peace mentality. (Witness the diplomats at *every* conference during the past twenty years.) A nation becomes a victim to base passions, selfish interests and false loyalties. The most heavily armed nations are today the greatest menace to world peace. Among these are Britain and America. There is no hope in "chariots." Rather the reverse! Armaments are a sure road to destruction. History, as well as ethics, has testimony to support this statement.

Neither is there any hope in the "tapering off" process. The "village drunkard" never became sober by "tapering off." They tried, but failed. Nothing effected a cure but total abstinence. The "tapering off" process was tried on slavery. It failed. We frankly affirm that if our country must have armament, guns, gas, bombs, etc. to kill, etc. etc. we would favor having the most effective. There is no virtue, nor good sense, in having inferior armament. Give us the best armament for national defense, or give us none.

But are you willing to trust our country with a Disarmament Amendment in the Constitution? Not only willing, but glad! Our country is less secure than she was fifty years ago, because "better armed." Our experience and conviction are that the man or nation that carries a gun is badly secured. For three generations our family has had no personal defense in guns, and yet its members have run all over the earth, in all hours of the day. Guns are the worst security that individuals or nations can possess. They provoke and invite attack; and produce an ugly disposition and mentality. Our country is being considerably feared and disliked not because of our riches, but in proportion as we have armed.

It must be admitted that history does not furnish many arguments for total disarmament. Remember, however, that one hundred years ago history did not furnish many arguments for total abolition of slavery or total abstinence from liquor. Our grandfathers kept taverns and drank toddy with the deacons between services. No more! So will it be with armament. Our fathers have participated in wars, but today war is convicted as a social crime, and named as an outlaw. No more is there argument for war.

However, history is not silent. William Penn proved that a colony unarmed was safer among "savages." The police of London, a few years ago, voted that they would be safer if gunless. Germany was once an example of what armament will do to a great people in the way of disaster. Germany today is showing what a blessing disarmament is proving to a once highly armed nation. If Germany has sense enough to continue what has compulsorily been put upon her, her chances are better than those of France, Britain or America. Every week shows her winning trade in China, etc. To see the reason is not difficult.

It is gladly confessed that with total disarmament our country would be compelled to rely upon other forces; to use our brains instead of our fists. The abolition of the ferrule compelled the teacher to use brains and character to manage the school. America is bound to lose soul-power if she keeps on the fatal road of armament. With the abolition of guns and

gas as a means to manage ourselves and our neighbors, there would immediately spring up in their places the methods of courtesy, decency and good sense. There might then be, as some have imagined, a Peace Department in place of a War Department. With a Jane Addams at the head of it, and a Grace Abbott at the head of the Labor Department, and Judge Florence E. Allen as Attorney General—well, the country would be twice as safe as it is now! And, what is *more to the point*—our country would be headed toward permanent security.

We are not oblivious to the hazards found in such a proposed amendment. The "unguarded line" between Canada and the United States has its hazards, but fewer than if there were forts every ten miles apart from the St. Lawrence to Puget Sound. We have a well-grounded belief that an "unguarded line" between Mexico and the U. S. A. would work the same good results. An "unguarded line" between us and Japan, and between us and Great Britain, would work exactly the same. Americans would have the same peace-mind toward the British in England as they have toward the British in Canada, if the British in England should dismantle their fortifications along the American side of the Atlantic. If America disarmed, who can doubt that England would do this and a lot more that is necessary to keep England from being a menace to the world?

Disarmament, no doubt, would make some changes in our national policies. New motives and new ends would come to the front. But they would be better! Reconstruction is always difficult, but it is the price of progress. Reconstruction of a people that have "drunk, always drunk," or of a country whose institutions were entangled with slavery has been very difficult, but no one would go back to the saloon or to the auction-block.

The next move to abolish war, we are convinced, is to abolish arms. A young man recently got up in a meeting of Friends and said,

> I went to France. I was once for twenty-eight days and nights under fire. I came out of that experience absolutely convinced of the futility of the war program. I will have nothing to do with it.

That is a characteristically American way to handle moral problems. Personal total abstinence pledge from the evil for oneself! The American way is to run up the ideal and then to labor, to sweat if necessary, to pull oneself up to the ideal.

The whole question of the abolition of war, as individuals, and as a nation, is boiled down to the simple question whether as individual citizens and as a nation we will place the abolition ideal first.

This is the way that Americans tackled slavery. Compromise? No. Colonization? No. But, a clear declaration. This slavery institution must be destroyed! The same with the drink evil. After long ages of dreadful degeneracy and debauchery by drink (and war is also degeneracy and debauchery), there came a clear declaration: The liquor traffic must be destroyed! That is the American's way. He writes his ideals in his Constitution—his Ten Commandments—and drags himself up to those ideals. Shall we not as Americans run true to form in our treatment of War?

Limitation? No.

Humanization? No.

Parleys over guns, number, size? No.

But, mark the War institution, *to be destroyed!* Write Disarmament in the Constitution! Sign the pledge of total abstinence! Will to bring our land up to it!

Idealism has been America's strength and glory. So far, America, in her development, has followed great ideals. Why not in disarmament? By idealism may we live or die.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Jottings

If ever there was a comic opera libretto, the *coup d'etat* in Roumania is it. We can see the program without the slightest difficulty:

King Carol	Tenor
Princess Helene	Soprano
Mme. Lupescu	Contralto
Signor Bratiano	Baritone
Dowager Queen Marie	Basso Profundo

The refusal of Secretary Stimson to show the official documents of the London Conference to the Senate is a matter of no large importance. But it tempts one to smile in tender recollection of "open covenants openly arrived at."

Who says that Prohibition isn't winning out in this country, when the Shriners have to go to Canada for their annual "booze" party?

Vice-President Curtis suggests that the celebration of the 4th of July be continued through an entire week. We can think of many sins of which the citizens of this country are guilty, but none which calls for such cruel and unusual punishment as this.

History repeats itself!

A generation ago there was an aggressive, noisy, highly financed anti-Catholic organization known as the A. P. A. (American Protective Association). After making a great splurge for a few years, it withered and died beneath the contempt of honorable citizens.

Today there is a similarly aggressive, noisy, highly-financed anti-Prohibition organization known as the

A. A. P. A. (Association Against the Prohibition Amendment). After its turn at a great splurge, now under full headway, it also will wither and die beneath the contempt of honorable citizens.

In accordance with its annual custom, "Jottings" begins its vacation with this date. Publication of the Department will be resumed on October 6.

J. H. H.

Parables of War and Peace

XIII

The Man from Mars

"And that was our Great War," I said abruptly. I had been noticing that my guest was getting strangely excited as I proceeded in my narrative; and when he finally leaped to his feet and began pacing up and down the room, I felt it time to reach an end.

"War," he exclaimed. *"War!* It seems to me as though I were beginning to understand."

"Understand the Great War?" I queried. "Ten years and a thousand books—"

But the Man from Mars interrupted me. "No," he said, "I'm not talking about your Great War. I'm talking about—"

He stopped, and walked musingly from my chair to the window.

"I was thinking," he said, "about my country! This all seems so strange, so peculiar, so *obvious.*"

The Martian stopped again, and walked back to my chair. Then, after a pause, he continued—

"You remember my telling you about the happiness of my country—the order, the security we enjoy. It's like the atmosphere, you know—we never think about it. For thousands, tens of thousands of years, we have lived this way. We thought we had always lived this way, when one day we made an extraordinary discovery.

"It was about two years ago, when Llapp, our great engineering expert, was sinking foundations for a causeway, that he came across what seemed to be the remains of an ancient city. The government at once began excavations, and in six months had laid bare the streets, cellars and shattered walls of what must have been at one time a great metropolis. Not less than three or four million people had lived there. Their bones were scattered all about. From the conditions of the ruins, it was evident that the city had not fallen to pieces through some long period of decay, but had been destroyed all at once. And here was the peculiar thing! It had been wrecked from above, and not from below. There were no evidences of earthquake, or other natural convulsion. But could a storm of wind or lightning wipe out a whole country in this fashion? Impossible! The walls were vast, the foundations colossal. No blast from heaven could have shaken this city to the dust! But what could have done it! What *is* the explanation of this buried capital?

"Interest in the problem became so great," the Martian continued, "that excavations on an extensive and systematic scale were undertaken. Among the first discoveries were cemeteries—cemeteries of a size unheard of in our experience. There were bones enough in each one of these places to account literally for millions of men. How had they died? A pestilence was our first thought. But this explanation was promptly put out of court by certain peculiar things characteristic of these bones. Most of them were dreadfully broken—there was hardly a complete skeleton anywhere. Furthermore, such whole bones as were found, proved on examination to be the bones of comparatively young men—certainly not over forty-five or fifty. There seemed to be no aged in these cemeteries and no infants. What had killed all these men? By what ghastly selective process had they been chosen for death? And was there any connection between these charnal fields and the dead cities we had found?

"As I left Mars upon that journey which so strangely ended here," went on my guest, "the excavations were revealing a new mystery. Machines! We began to find machines everywhere. Broken, rusted, rotted to pieces, but plainly enough machines of great size and enormous power. The most terrific ones we found under the sea, when we began pushing the water back to see what they might hide. Here were what seemed to be ships—but ships of a type absolutely unknown to us. They were all a twisted mass of boilers and dynamos, wheels, pistons and shaft-cranks, with certain stupendous steel pipes attached to what seemed to be explosive chambers. These pipes we found on the land as well as under the sea—they were the commonest feature of these machines. What they were used for—the machines, and especially the pipes—no one could imagine. Our best scientists were studying the question when I left. It seemed natural to suppose, of course, that these machines had something to do with the wrecked cities and the bones—they certainly belonged to the same age! But how can machines have anything to do with destruction and death? All our machines protect life, and serve it, and keep it going. It's impossible to conceive that these machines could injure men, or—kill them! It's incredible! Or at least it was until I saw you, and heard this story of yours."

The Man from Mars stopped, and went to the window again. There was a long silence, broken only by the falling rain outside. Suddenly there came a heavy "boom" in the far distance—the guns in the fort at the harbor mouth.

"Yes," said the Martian, "I'm beginning to understand. Your Great War tells the story. We've been wrong in thinking that we were the original inhabitants of Mars. Our historians and scientists are mistaken. Before us—" he paused, as though his breath was lost for a moment, and then said slowly, "Before—us—there was—another—race! And they wiped themselves out. And the whole process of mankind on that planet had—to—begin—again."

"I wonder," he said, abruptly, turning to me, "I wonder if you people of the Earth here are going to wipe yourselves out the same way. And do you suppose, when that happens, that there's always another beginning?"

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

What the World Looks Like Today

Crossing the Pacific after a year spent in visiting seventeen countries in a journey around the world, I have tried to analyze and sum up the situation in my own mind, amid all the currents and cross currents of the confused and often seemingly chaotic conditions.

In general we can note certain world trends, some negative and others positive. On the negative side there seems to be evidence of such developments as the following: 1. Unemployment as a world phenomenon, with widespread suffering from its neglect, or failure adequately to meet its recurring need. 2. The materialism of our times observable both in the Orient and Occident. 3. The "revolt of youth" in many lands typified by the "dangerous thoughts" of the youth of Japan today, with the growth of idealism and a rising demand for social justice. 4. Signs of revolution, or of sweeping change in a period of ferment and discontent, as in India and China today. 5. The challenge of conventional religion in many countries, especially wherever it is reactionary, or has not adjusted itself to the resistless advance of modern physical and social science. It is obvious that many of these movements have their constructive and hopeful side as well as a negative or destructive element.

On the other hand, there are positive, hopeful movements and world trends that seem unmistakable, such as the following: 1. The remarkable advance of science and the scientific spirit both in the East and the West, and the increasing control thereby both of nature and of human nature. 2. The growth of nationalism and of the idea of liberty among all awakened peoples, and the steady retreat of imperialism before them. 3. The development of democracy, in spite of significant post-war dictatorships, with the increase of social cooperation and social control. 4. The growing demand for peace and for the limitation of armaments throughout the world and the development of methods and organizations for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. 5. The tendency toward the growing articulation and integration of human life in ever wider unity and cooperation.

As we recall the principal countries visited, we found in Great Britain the steady progress of social evolution under the Labor Government, aiming at the greater sharing of power and privilege both in the matter of social justice for the poor at home and among the colonies abroad, where an Empire is in process of development into a Commonwealth of free nations. Germany seemed in a measure to have learned the lessons of the war and to show real advance along the path of democracy and peace. At Geneva we were encouraged at the steady growth of the League of Nations in the first enduring organization of almost the entire world for peace.

Russia presented inevitable contradictions when many of its high human aims are carried out often by ruthless means of force. Its outstanding evils were still a dictatorship of tyranny and sometimes of terror, its policy of world revolution by violence which introduces a discordant element of strife throughout the world, and the bigoted and unscientific atheism which constitutionally guarantees liberty of conscience, yet persecutes vital religion. On the whole, I believe that its evils will in time tend to correct themselves. Its influence was most powerful in China, and to a less extent in Japan, Korea and Germany. I believe that greater evil will come out of the Russian Revolution than ever came out of the French Revolution, as well as far greater good.

Turkey, with her new language and new liberty, stood for reform. Palestine has at last furnished a needed home for the long-persecuted Jewish people. When, with a demand reinforced by the report of the Shaw Commission, the Balfour Declaration has been reinterpreted, Palestine may furnish a cultural and spiritual home for the Jews, yet provide equal justice for the Arabs. The new nationalism of Egypt and Iraq will in time result in their becoming independent nations and members of the League, in accordance with the wise and generous treaties proposed by Great Britain.

India is in the midst of a great moral conflict. If she wins in her struggle for independence, her real problems will have only just begun, if she emerges into the chaos and human suffering where China is today. But if, as seems more probable, Britain wins a partial victory, she will be forced to grant dominion status long before she otherwise would have done so. Wisely or unwisely, whether by violence or non-violence, India is struggling forward toward a better day.

We found China in far greater and more desperate need than any nation on earth today with her endless civil war, banditry and lawlessness, bribery and corruption, the poison of opium, the acute suffering and privation occasioned by chronic unemployment and repeated famine which, all combined, furnish the best opportunity for the spread of destructive Communism. China of all lands is most in need of our help and cooperation at this time. That aid may be rendered by the cooperation of foreign nations for the maintenance or the regaining of her complete sovereignty, by strengthening rather than retreating from the all-important work of missions, and by aid in concrete projects for famine prevention and the economic reconstruction of the country.

In Korea, Japan has made almost as brilliant a record in the material development of the country in the twenty years of its occupation from 1910 to 1930, as the United States has made in the Philippines in the same time. But, as in the Philippines, there is an almost unanimous demand for independence on the part of all educated or awakened Koreans. They make three indictments against Japanese rule: 1. Its policy of "assimilation" or absorption, that would Japanize everything and ignore or blot out much that Koreans hold most dear; 2. the dictatorship of an autocratic foreign rule which makes all the laws, appoints and holds all the chief offices for themselves, and allows much less liberty than in the Philippines or India; and, 3. the economic discrimination under which so many impoverished Korean farmers are losing their land, while the Japanese reap the chief benefits in industry and commerce. The Koreans were left by their own former government, that was considered "the worst in Asia," indolent and sadly divided among themselves. But under the stern compulsion of Japanese rule from without and the inner impulse of a growingly Christian civilization and education, Korea is making gratifying progress. Japan will have to choose between

making her like an embittered Ireland or like a prosperous and loyal Canada.

Japan herself has made most remarkable progress. Lacking in the three basic raw materials of coal, iron and oil, as well as almost all others, out of poverty and in the face of terrific handicaps she has lifted herself to the position of a world power, the one nation of the Orient always able to compete with the West at every point on their own ground.

At the close of our visit we saw the grand old man Viscount Shibusawa, 90 years of age, who was a boy of fourteen when Commodore Perry's fleet came to open up Japan in 1854. He believed at that time that the world was a square cube with only four countries on its flat top—Japan, Korea, China and India. How far Japan and the world have moved since that day only seventy-six years ago! He has seen Japan throw aside her bows and arrows and feudal arms and become the third power in the world on sea and land. He has seen her abandon her centuries of isolation for cosmopolitan membership in the League of Nations, and in spite of the poverty of her resources become one of the leading nations of the world in industry and commerce. He has lived to see her become a literate nation with 99 per cent of her children in school, with universal manhood suffrage for her thirteen million voters, and has witnessed the steady growth of democracy, of a free press and of enlightened public opinion.

We left Japan with a heightened regard for this truly great people, but with a sense of shame for the wrong done them in the *manner* of our exclusion of the Japanese in the immigration act of 1924. The welfare and honor of both peoples could have been protected by placing both Orientals and Occidentals upon a quota basis which would have admitted only the infinitesimal number of 154 Japanese a year. If this could have been done it would both have satisfied the Japanese and protected American labor without the blundering, unfeeling insult that has been gratuitously though all unwittingly offered to this great nation. I write in the full confidence that this wrong will be righted and Japan yet placed upon a quota basis of equality with other nations.

As we look back over the entire tour two points stand out above all others in high light: the hours spent with Gandhi in his home before his imprisonment, and the day spent in Nazareth in Galilee. As we sat under a fig tree on the high hilltop behind the town and looked out over Palestine and to the world beyond we read again the Sermon on the Mount and asked ourselves how far its principles were being growingly fulfilled in the earth today. We read of the principles of love, of the worth of individual personality, of brotherhood and co-operation, of an abundant life fulfilled in righteousness or social justice, with the implications of liberty and democracy—all of these realized in that moral organization of mankind called the Kingdom of God, which means the sovereignty of love in all the relationships of life. It is our conviction as we return from this tour of the world that the outlook on the whole is one of hope and that amid all apparent discouragements the principles of this spiritual Kingdom are gaining ground in the world today.

SHERWOOD EDDY.

On the Pacific.

The Boston Red Cap Porter

The working conditions of the Negro porters at the four railroad stations in Boston, Massachusetts, is a subject that has always been of the most profound interest to the writer. But it has been our opinion that to write on such a subject would be of very little interest to the average person even in Boston, to say nothing of other places. During the time the writer attended the Summer School at Harvard University in 1929, Dr. Jerome Davis, Professor of Christian Social Ethics in Yale University, who was giving a course in this school, suggested that the "Boston Red Cap Porter" would be a good subject to write on in connection with the course, "Modern Social Movements" which the writer was taking at that time. Dr. Davis expressed his interest in this subject, and the writer expressed his willingness to write on it. The conversation with this great sociologist somewhat changed the writer's opinion in regard to the lack of interest the average person might have in such a subject. It immediately appeared to him that if a person in the state of Connecticut could interest himself in the problem of the colored American in Boston, there might at least be a remote possibility of other persons elsewhere being interested in it.

Red and Blue Cap porters are employed at four railway stations in Boston—The Boston Terminal, known as the South Station, the Back Bay Station, Trinity Station, and North Station. Every day one can see the majority of these porters at the different stations meeting the trains with a smile and calling out in the familiar language of the station porter, "porter, sir," "porter for your baggage," "porter, lady," "porter for your luggage," "help you down, sir," etc., after which they cheerfully load themselves with bags, golf clubs, umbrellas and other impedimenta which they transport to other trains, to the Boston Elevated Station, and to taxis, or vice versa, in exchange for a modest quarter, or still more modest dime, Canadian nickles, or worthless pennies, or the very polite "thank you, very much." Apparently thus is a humdrum and prosaic calling which some porters have followed for 18, 20 and 25 years, from which they seem to get much joy as well as financial benefit.

The life of a Red or Blue Cap Porter in Boston is far from being ideal, and the men who do that kind of work for a lifetime or even for a short period of time, merit the highest respect. But as a matter of fact they are seldom respected at all. It seems that the porters at the different stations in Boston are frequently supposed by patrons of the roads to be gifted with clairvoyant powers when it comes to locating missing articles. The amount of misinformation they receive is indeed surprising. Passengers develop a surprising faculty of getting sections, seat numbers, Pullman cars, even trains, mixed up. Very often the attendants are told to deposit baggage and other belongings in such and such a seat or berth. When, usually within a few minutes of train time, the articles are not to be found,

it is always a case of "blame it on the porter." Almost invariably a defective memory on the part of the passenger is responsible, but that fact is never emphasized. As in other quasi-public lines of business the maxim holds that the "customer is always right." From the taxi driver on the outside to the ticket agents, baggage men, parcel room men on the inside, and on to the conductors and trainmen on the tracks, the porter is invariably wrong when he gets into a dispute or controversy with any of these employees or passengers, as generally all or most of these are white. If the porter is reported to the "powers that be," he is very often discharged, or, to use the familiar language of the porter, he is "put on the streets for a few days."

The Boston Red and Blue Cap Porters are picked men and are obliged to give unimpeachable references before being taken on. They are not an ignorant set of men by any means. In education they range all the way from grammar school graduates to college and university graduates. All alike are under the most rigid discipline and are subject to discharge at any moment. They are a heterogeneous aggregation of men, but on the whole, a very decent type meriting the highest respect of the public. It is not possible to agree and get along peacefully with each and every porter at all times. I am sure that the captains of the attendants will verify this fact, as they have a great deal of unnecessary trouble with some of the men under their charge, due to the porters' fault in some cases and the fault of the captains in other cases. There is the very unpopular, hated and despicable "stool pigeon," better known as the "white folks Nigger," who tattles on his comrades to the white man in a desperate attempt to get into the good graces of the "boss" in order to receive special favors. As a rule the white man listens to what he says but deep down in his heart he has no more respect for such a colored man than his own fellow comrades and workmen have. Some of the trouble among the porters is also due to the captains having pets and favorites who act as their "stool pigeons," telling them of the faults and failures of the other porters. This causes the men to feel disrespect toward the captains at certain stations, and justly so. Aside from the "stool pigeons," who are to be found on almost every job such as porter work, the men are of a very gentlemanly and respectable kind.

In his three years of experience as porter at South and North Stations, the writer has observed that the college man does not make the best porter. There is a good reason why this is true. The first prerequisite of porter service is courtesy, and the second is subserviency to the public. To most passengers the two are synonymous for many of them feel that a porter cannot be courteous unless he persists in scraping, bowing and tipping his hat to them. The college men refuse to do this, for most of them have learned, in the course of their college training, that the vaunted superiority of the white man, of which he so heartily boasts, is a farce and a snare and is biologically unsound and impossible. He feels that he is just as good as any man and it is not necessary for one to be an *"Uncle Tom"* and bow to his equal. The average Red or Blue Cap Porter may know nothing of biology or sociology, but he is beginning to feel that "white superiority" is only a myth, a very erroneous doctrine designed to retard the progress of the colored American, and, to use the very familiar but rather silly belated phrase of the Southern white American, "to keep him in his place." However, this is not confined to the Southern states, but it is just as true in New England and especially in Boston, the so called cradle of liberty, for there are many white people who feel that the colored man has a place and should stay in it. Such muddled thinking, the work and influence of the pseudo-scientists in regard to white superiority, is being exposed by the fair-minded psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists of the world. The Red and Blue Cap Porters are well aware of these facts for, many of them read such magazines as the *Forum,* the *American Mercury, Harper's* and the *Atlantic Monthly,* which are some of the best magazines published in America today. The more the porter learns, the less he is liked by the management at the different stations, and also by the public, for education teaches him that there is no necessary virtue in subserviently scraping, bowing and tipping his cap to the fickle public for a modest quarter, dime or Canadian nickel.

The college man is disliked at some of the stations because he goes on the job, like the other porters, to get all he can. He is accused of being a trimmer, of having bagmania, and of running over or taking bags from other porters which do not rightfully belong to him. He is accused of being "hungry." In some cases he has been rightfully accused, but his accusers seem to forget all about the other "hungry bagmaniacs" on the job who are not students or college men, but persist in running over every one else in a desperate effort to get bags. None of the porters, from the captain down to the last man, are free of the disease of "bagmania," for all have been guilty of the most extraordinary greed in taking bags which do not rightfully belong to them. So none can rightfully point the finger of scorn at the other, as he at sometime during the period of his service has been guilty of the same wrong of which he accuses his fellow workman.

There are many people who believe that the station porters receive a salary for their work. Sometime during the month of June, 1929, the Boston *Sunday Herald* gave a write-up about the Red and Blue Cap Porters which said in part:

> It is recognized, of course, that the Red Caps receive a nominal salary and that the major part of their income is derived from perquisites. The vast bulk of tips range from ten to twenty-five cents.

This is only partially true, for the Red Caps receive no salary for their work except a few who work at Trinity Station in the Back Bay district of Boston, and they found it necessary to go out on strike before they were able to demand a meagre salary of 50 cents per day. The porters at Trinity, Back Bay, North and South Stations in Boston pay for the privilege of working instead of being paid for their services. They are compelled to buy uniforms ranging from $22.50 to $35.00 in price for summer and winter use which should be paid for by the railroad authorities and officials instead of by the porters. These uniforms give the porters no assurance of holding their jobs unless they succeed in pleasing the white man by catering to his whims, caprices and mean prejudices. They are liable to be discharged if reported to the office even by a baggage man or ticket agent who are white men whose word is always right. Even those outside of the station, such as the employees of the Boston Elevated Railway, have learned that if the least person employed in the service reports a porter to the station-master for any small or petty thing, the latter is liable to be discharged with-

out a hearing. A colored man's word stands for little or nothing in the opinion of the white officials of the railroads. Knowing this to be a fact, every petty white employee of the railroad and the Boston Elevated seems to take great delight in reporting a porter when he does not cater to silly belated notions of white superiority and color prejudice.

Because the Red and Blue Cap Porters are not on the pay roll they cannot secure passes to points on the railroads as is true in the case of conductors, Pullman-car porters, and other employees of the railroads. They have no protection from the railroads, except in theory, in case of accident or death in a train wreck or otherwise. Their lives are in constant danger as they go about the stations performing their duties. That this is unjust to the men and to their families no fair-minded person will deny. This is one of the evil consequences of the tipping system. Tipping, in itself, is bad. It very often causes a man to lose his self-respect. His earning power depends not upon the quality of his work, but upon the wealth and favoritism of those whom he serves. It is un-American, un-economical, and ethically indefensible. Under the tipping system porters are dependent on the spasmodic generosity of the public to furnish them with legitimate earnings. Like the drug habit, very often the victim of the tipping system can seldom cure himself of its demoralizing effect. Bowing and scraping to please the fickle public, these men have allowed their commercialized smiles and courtesies to drain the red blood from their bodies. They lack stamina and character.

The train-conductor, pullman-car conductor, street-car conductor and motorman expect no tipping from the public, and they should expect none, for their salaries are sufficient to prevent the necessity of receiving tips. The train porter, pullman-car porter, and the Red and Blue Cap Porters should not find it necessary to depend upon tipping from the public to help supply their material needs. They should receive a decent, living wage, so that there should be no need for receiving tips. The latter class of employees render just as important a public service as the former class, and should be paid on the basis of efficiency, rather than on the basis of color and tradition. The railroads should pay the Red and Blue Cap Porters a salary for their services and not deprive them of this right just because it has been the tradition and custom to let them depend upon tips from the public and receive nothing from the railroads. It is impossible for a station porter to get as much in tips today as he could 15 or 20 years ago before the time of the automobile when people rode mostly on trains in the big cities like Boston and New York. Many of the people who formerly gave the porter a good tip for serving him ride through the country today in their automobiles, and send their domestic help on the trains. So the porter's job today is beginning to be a starvation job and it will not be very long before it will be impossible to earn enough money to support one's self and family.

Pay the porter a salary and cut out the demoralizing tipping system. LUTHER MARION FULLER

Trumpets on New Horizons

Rebel Poet

With swift attack and sure intent
To lift a pure and lofty fire
He strikes the steel of discontent
Upon the flintstone of his ire.

Above a dark contorted world
The wisp of smoke curls to and fro.
How long, till that slight flame be whirled
Afar to blast and overthrow?

Yet these, with fetters clanking low,
On whom the lash falls, stroke by stroke,
Pause, on the toil-marked way they go,
To wonder at the lovely smoke.

CLIFFORD GESSLER.

Gray and Wise

Then may a city live, as the river lives,
Or as the mountain, born of terrible labor,
Grows old and happy and incredibly wise?

Well, if a city, as you say, may live,—
In some long day when deadly pride is gone
It may—who knows?—be gray and wise enough
To pause and pray while soul-stuff enters in.

A city with a soul—who'd laugh at that?
How one might wander through its ancient streets
And hear upon slow winds the little songs
Made long ago by scorned and hungry bards,
Sung long ago by jades in splendid jails.

A city with a soul!—who'd not forego
His selfish singleness to enter there?
If only a man might die in such a town
What rumbling heaven might he not attain
Of city souls articulate at last;
What green Valhalla of seas, what desolate
Grim heaven of deserts, or incredibly
Benignant haven of mountains grown too old!

Come, let us build a city so humble and fair,
So filled with sorrow grown sweet and joy grown sad,
That some day, being gray and wise enough,
It pause and pray a space, and gain a soul,
Whose wings ourselves may ride upon for ever.

JOHN RUSSELL MCCARTHY.

Freedom

I know no court but that of my desire,
No jury but the sequence of the days,
No sentence but the failure to aspire,
No prison but the mind's obstructed maze.

FLORA J. ARNSTEIN.

To an Aeroplane

Are you a bird of air, immortal,
Possessing speed which is divine?
Have you come from a starry portal
To teach us how to conquer time?

To conquer clouds and air and distance—
Hurling giddy man through space,
Breaking down the last resistance
Which separated race from race?

Or have you come to spread destruction,
Poison gas and bombs of hate?
Are you some weird introduction
Of a new death as our fate?

If you are a friendly spirit
And a harbinger of peace,
Raise your voice so all can hear it,
Tell the world that war must cease.

Teach us that the joy of living
Is in "Brotherhood of Man,"
That happiness comes more from giving
Than from grasping all we can.

Now that you have welded nations
Into neighbors, be their guide.
Lead them to new exaltations,
Not to stupid fratricide.

THOMAS BELL SWEENEY.

The Study Table

Prohibition a Success

Here is a book* which has something new to say about Prohibition. The author declines to discuss the question as to whether or not it is a sin to take a drink. He refuses to follow the red herring of "personal liberty" which the "wets" are so fond of drawing across the trail. These and other phases of the problem, which constitute the substance of the furious debate now raging in the country, can lead us only to confusion. And they miss completely the main point at issue!

> We talk so much about this law, (says Mr. Crowther) as a great moral crusade having as its end the defeat of Old Demon Rum, or taking the other tack, as an assault upon the right of personal liberty, that we are apt to forget that this law has other than a moral background. It is in point of fact a great economic experiment in changing the direction of the spending of money.

What Mr. Crowther sees in Prohibition is a diversion of the expenditures of the laboring classes of the nation from the saloon to the great basic industries that serve the needs and the pleasures of family life. The increase in the money spent for legitimate purposes, as compared with the illegitimate purposes of the old time liquor debauchery, has been enormous during the last ten years. It is the estimate of Professor Irving Fisher that in 1914 "the nation spent three and one-half billion dollars a year for drink." The *American Grocer* thinks this too high, but itself estimates the expenditure at "more than a billion and a half dollars." Today, "if the consumption of alcohol were to remain stationary, which of course it would not," it seems fair to estimate that with the rise of general prices, the nation would be spending for liquor well over three billion dollars. Professor Fisher thinks that the present bill might run as high as nine billion dollars. But now all this is stopped. Not entirely so, of course! The bootlegging business is extensive, and prices are necessarily high. Nobody in his senses believes, however, that bootlegging even approaches the old liquor trade.

> Chicago at one time had a saloon for every three hundred men, women and children. No one for a moment can believe that there is a bootlegger in Chicago for every three hundred men, women and children.

Putting the figures of present-day liquor consumption at their highest, it is impossible to place the total expenditures for bootleg and home-brew at more than three-quarters of a billion dollars, and more likely it "can hardly amount to more than half a billion dollars." The total certainly does not exceed twenty per cent of pre-war costs.

Now what becomes of the eighty percent thus saved? It is Mr. Crowther's idea that this money diverted from the saloon has gone into the channels of healthy trade. Suddenly, without anybody's foreseeing the phenomenon, millions of wage-earners have found themselves with hundreds of dollars to spend on clothes, boots and shoes, food, furniture, automobiles, radios, books, theatres, travel. The pay-envelope, opened on Saturday night and half-emptied in the saloon, is now brought home intact, and given to the wife to spend for household needs. The result is an enormous increase in consumption of manufactured goods; this has resulted in a correspondingly enormous increase in industrial activity; this in turn has resulted in wide-spread employment, high wages, and a prosperity unprecedented in economic history. America has opened a new era of capitalism, characterized by the abolition of poverty and the general diffusion of prosperity. And the central cause is Prohibition.

> It (Prohibition) sought to throw a dam across that part of the river of purchasing power which formerly flowed uselessly for liquor, and to re-route the stream through turbines which might usefully turn to create wealth. Today the dam is built, and the money which formerly went for drink is the motive power of our prosperity.

What is thus stated as a theory the author proceeds to prove by citing first-hand testimony from those who know. In nothing is this volume more impressive than in its statements by great employers of labor throughout the country as to the undoubted good of Prohibition. Page after page, chapter after chapter, are taken up with this evidence. How refreshing after the daily bath of fol-de-rol published by the "wet" newspaper press as to the ruin of the nation under the operation of the Eighteenth Amendment! Of course, there is serious trouble in the matter of enforcement. There is graft and crime directly traceable to Prohibition.

> This is undoubtedly very large indeed, (says Mr. Crowther) but it is hard to believe that it approaches the old liquor graft. The saloon has always been the center of graft and crime, but while once we took this for granted, now a certain horror is affected at the graft and crime surrounding the bootleg traffic.

But whatever the debit side of the question, this is nothing as compared with the credit side. There is no ruin impending either morally or economically. America today is sounder, saner, more prosperous, more healthy, than she has ever been before in all her history. Prohibition is here to stay because a prosperous and happy people cannot get along without it.

We would like to see an answer to this book. We say this whenever we read an able Prohibition argument, and always safely because there is no answer. The "wet" side has habit, appetite, prejudice on its side, but neither facts nor reason.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

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*Prohibition and Prosperity, by Samuel Crowther. Published by the John Day Company. $1.50.

The Present Crisis in Religion

That this book* should be written and published is a commentary on the times and the "state of religion." It is striking evidence of the rapidity of recent movements out of the bondage of religious tradition. Only a few years ago Dr. Orchard, author of this book, was hailed on the evidence of earlier writing as an eloquent spokesman for liberalism. Already the times have so far advanced that this new book sounds like a voice from a buried civilization. It turns out to be an appeal for unshaken faith in supernaturalism. The author seems unconscious of how the thoughts of men are now running. He writes of the "present crisis" with profound unconsciousness of what the present is, or what its thought tendencies portend.

A few brief quotations will show the reader whether he wants to read the whole. As a curious revelation of the ways of the submerged supernaturalistic mind, the book is to be highly commended. The English is excellent and the point of view clearly set forth.

"It is wise to look at the worst facts first: it is better to overestimate the forces against us if we want to make sure of victory." "Facts" are opponents; truth is conquest, our "victory."

"We desire reverently to acknowledge, along with the most convinced and optimistic, our final hope in the permanent presence and ever accessible power of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we confess as the Saviour of the world and the Redeemer of mankind, and in the inexhaustible wisdom and power of God, His God and ours, His Father and our Father." The author's mind is "permanently" made up.

"If a real recovery is to be made, faith must be recovered; but it must be a faith rationally grounded, confirmed by revelation and powerful enough to remove mountains." But what if revelation declines to confirm, but rather repulses reason? Such things happen.

"How many must wonder how the once precise and critical plan of salvation can really be true, when it has been made known comparatively so recently, and only to an infinitesimal fraction of the human race!" They do wonder indeed, many, many.

"The influence of the skeptical attacks on the foundations of religion, the absorbing interest in material things, and the pressure of earthly cares tend to make religion appear doubtful, remote or irrelevant." Quite so, if one interprets religion in the terms employed by the author.

"There is too widespread an impression that Christianity fails to answer the questions of the human mind, or, in the fact [*sic:* manifestly misprint for *face*] of scientific, historical and literary criticism can recover its position." The impression is certainly widespread.

"Many of the Protestant bodies, notably the Methodists and their offshoots, have specialized in Evangelism, and these only need, on the one hand, a clearer psychological method, and on the other a sounder doctrinal basis, to continue and reconstitute themselves as excellent agencies for reaching the indifferent masses." The question is whether they will be themselves at all when they adopt the requisite "psychological method."

"Nothing can, however, be done for our generation until its overvaluation of externals is redressed by a discovery and higher estimate of the interior values which mystical experience can reveal." There it is in a nutshell. All needed to save western peoples is to induce them to cease to be themselves, turn mystic and sail away to Bagdad or heaven on the mystic's carpet. A rather large order. Scarcely the hope of religion which stirs with enthusiasm the man of our world today.

JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE.

*"The Present Crisis in Religion," by W. E. Orchard. Published by Harper & Brothers. $2.50.

Correspondence

Who Is Going to Pay for Farm Relief?

Editor of UNITY:

To one who faces the facts of the situation in which the most of the farmers of the United States find themselves, the problem seems rather hopeless. Virtually nobody in public life, not even the farm leaders themselves, have the courage to face those basic facts. All are engaged in playing a game of ring-around-the-rosies, hoping that some external force can be maneuvered so as to get them out of their troubles without exposing the real causes.

However much exposure of those causes may hurt, continued concealment is but making matters worse for everybody. The first and most important root of farm trouble is transportation due to the fact that the bulk of the food is grown in the west and the greater part of the consuming public is in the east. There is no farm problem east of Indiana and the further west one goes the more acute it is. Because of the great distance from market direct marketing becomes more difficult also.

This situation is due primarily to the great transcontinental railroads that, very naturally, are interested in long haul goods. The farther west that New Yorkers buy their apples and potatoes and prunes the better for them. They have therefore done all that they could to convince the restless eastern farm youth, as well as the eastern city dreamer of bucolic independence, that golden opportunities awaited him in the far west where was to be found America's richest soil, her most healthful climate, and her grandest scenery—"Out where the west begins."

The second cause of the trouble is the very much inflated price of western farm lands, the work of real estate booster and speculators generously abetted by the railroads. Here on the Pacific coast people are trying to raise fruit and vegetables and poultry for the Atlantic seaboard cities on land costing from three hundred to three thousand dollars an acre, and with the high taxes that must accompany such a valuation. The state of Oregon has an area twice that of the state of Pennsylvania and less than one-tenth of its population. Modern conditions demand the building and maintenance of thousands of miles of good highway throughout this vast territory and the burden falls most heavily upon the farm population. Quite generally in the far west must be added, in the case of our very best land, the high cost of irrigation.

Furthermore the railways, in the interest of the long haul, have always been able to discourage the development of manufacturing other than the sawing of lumber and the canning of fish and fruit, throughout the "backward states" of Senator Grundy's contempt. The desideratum of the railways was cars filled with lumber, cattle, sheep, canned fish and farm produce going east, and coming back loaded with needed manufactured articles. All of this may mean temporary prosperity for the railroads but it also means a desperate struggle for the farmer and much worse for the millions of workers in eastern cities who are frequently unable to purchase enough good food.

Very few people in the west wish attention drawn to these facts. The banking interests, holding hundreds of

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

National News Bulletin

The Attack Upon National Prohibition

Opponents of Prohibition Start Their Biggest Drive

"Washington.—A new drive for modification of the Volstead Act, the biggest since the law was enacted ten years ago, was launched by the Anti-prohibition bloc in Congress today." —Chicago *Herald and Examiner,* January 21, 1930.

Their Challenge

(From a statement made by James W. Wadsworth, former United States Senator, and now Chairman of the New York State Division of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, and a member of the executive committee.)

"When we organized (The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment) it was very difficult to get people who shared our views to come out publicly for those views. It wasn't 'respectable.' . . . Now, we have two hundred and fifty directors, executives and responsible heads in transportation and industries, employing more than three million men. . . .

"For three years we have been sending investigators into European countries and Canada. . . . All the information we sought is now in and nearly ready for release. . . .

"We have established the respecability of our motives. . . .

"We have completed our research work. . . . (In Europe and Canada.)

"Public sentiment, growing by leaps and bounds, is beginning to meet us. . . .

"And we are on the threshold of sustained, resistant, political activity. . . .

"We are not taking the responsibility of urging any legislation at Washington at present. . . . To the States our association has got to go, and that is where we are going now.

"Maryland . . . New York . . . Wisconsin . . . Nevada and Montana . . . five states without Prohibition enforcement laws. Now we propose to encourage movements for further repeals. Massachusetts is on the way. . . . At the general election of next autumn, the result of this referendum is not doubtful. . . .

"This policy of work among the states, we shall pursue, thus disintegrating the whole picture.

"We propose to take one stone and then another from the Prohibition fortress, until it shall finally crumble. . . ."

The Anti-Prohibition Program

Large sums are being spent by the wet interests to do this:

1. To spread a smoke screen of misinformation, deception and misrepresentation.
2. To change public sentiment by ridicule and falsehood.
3. To break down observance of the Prohibition law.
4. To breed contempt for law and the officers of the law.
5. To repeal the National Prohibition Act.
6. To nullify the Constitution and make Prohibition a dead letter.

Wets Never Before So Aggressive

". . . The wets have never been so aggressive as they are today. No one familiar with the wet propaganda will attempt to predict what the outcome will be. They have all the money they need."—Frank B. Ebbert, Attorney, Los Angeles.

The Defense of National Prohibition

Coolidge Speaks

"Considering that people have differed most radically on the best method of regulating the sale of liquor for generations, it is not likely to be settled for a long time to come. So long as the human appetite for stimulants on one side, and for money on the other side, remain what they are, there are likely to be some violations of a Prohibition law."—Former President Calvin Coolidge in May *Cosmopolitan,* 1930.

Sentiment Needed to Back the Law

"We believe there is a great body of calm balanced sentiment in the country, which believes in obedience to the law, which responds to an appeal to support the institutions of the country and which will support conservative measures for improving the machinery of law enforcement. This sentiment, however, inarticulate under ordinary conditions, at times exercises a strong pressure upon political opinion, and when aroused, is as resistless as the flooding tides of the ocean. It is that body of public opinion to which we shall look for support of the recommendations we have made and those we shall make in the future."—George W. Wickersham, Chairman Federal Law Enforcement Commission, Washington, D. C., January 22, 1930.

What Substitutes for the Present Law?

A demand to authorize the sale of light wines (15% alcohol) and beers (6% alcohol)! The same old stuff that makes men drunk!

Canadian or European systems, dispensary, government control—all mean the retail sale by license of alcoholic liquors. Call it by any name and it's the same old grog shop, barroom and saloon.

Do you want the rumshop back? Your children passing dens of vice, retail liquor shops, red light districts, gambling joints, drunkards reeling through the streets, drunken drivers causing a multitude of accidents on our crowded highways? More poverty, crime, human wrecks, insanity, prisons and jails filled—mental and moral ruin. America is headed for this as sure as the world if the people do not sustain Prohibition.

What is the matter that people are ignorant of the arguments of National Prohibition? A tremendous educational drive is needed to inform everybody of the marvelous results since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Abraham Lincoln Gives Us a Keynote

". . . Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."—Abraham Lincoln.

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millions in farm mortgages, are just as scared about making them known to the public as are the real estate speculators and the railroad people. The present demand of the westerners for a high tariff is nothing more than an attempt to make the proletariat of the eastern cities pay the bill. Leaving out of consideration its cruel injustice, it can only be a mere makeshift.

The west must solve the problem in the only way that is possible,—by a drastic reduction of land prices and a consequent lowering of taxation and by a community effort of an industrial nature much more thorough-going than has ever yet been undertaken. The hope of the west lies in the much more progressive and intelligent character of her rural population compared with that of the west. They are beginning to see that they are producing too much food and not enough of the other necessities of modern life.

Now let me draw the reader's attention to the interest which the nation should have in the horticultural development of the eastern states. There, at the very door of the greatest markets of the world, are hundreds of thousands of acres of as good unused land as the average that is being cultivated in the west, at about ten per cent of the cost and with less than ten per cent of the taxes. That is by all odds the part of the country best suited for the raising of fruit, vegetables and poultry. Why do not our influential citizens who are interested in social betterment seriously tackle the job of organizing horticultural communities to develop those cheap unused or, at best, ill-used lands? By so doing they would do something to relieve the congestion of the cities and lower the cost of living for those that remain.

It is true that western production has one very great advantage. The character of its farm population is incomparably higher. Eastern rural communities for many generations have been systematically bled of their best blood to keep the cities going and to develop these western lands. It is a case of the survival of the unfit. The average eastern farm community is more hopelessly conservative and stupidly individualistic than European peasantry. The character of farm production in the west is much more scientific. Otherwise Hood River and Willamette orchardists could never afford to keep going and sell their handsomely packed apples at $1.25 a box and for which the New Yorker must pay at least $4.00. The eastern farm lands need to be westernized by a transfusion of healthy new blood.

ERNEST W. WHITESMITH.

The Remedy: A Nation-wide Campaign of Education

Public opinion needs to be informed of the facts concerning the constructive results of Prohibition. Our aim is fourfold:

1. Intensive research and nation-wide survey of facts and actual conditions under the law.

2. To present these facts to the people through the press of America. To maintain a continuous service to press associations, syndicates, individual papers, religious and other important publications, consisting of news stories, encouraging achievements under the Prohibition law, cartoons and illustrated features.

3. Radio broadcasts of Prohibition news flashes, true stories, attractive program features playing up the progress made under National Prohibition.

4. Display advertising in the big city dailies selling to the "doubting Thomases" the splendid points of Prohibition.

We have already introduced the Foundation to the leading newspapers of America and a vast amount of information has appeared.

This campaign must be carried on in the biggest possible way to reach America's millions and effectively counteract the false propaganda of the wets. The acute need of this service at this moment cannot be over-emphasized. Let us stand by the President and thus insure the success of Prohibition. Enroll your name and share now in this great educational campaign by sending a check today.
—*American Business Men's Prohibition Foundation.*

CHARLES R. JONES, Chairman.
FRED D. L. SQUIRES, Secretary.
ALONZO E. WILSON, Treasurer.
7 South Dearborn Street, Chicago.

Birth Control and Other Resolutions

[Adopted at the 105th Annual Meeting of the American Unitarian Association in Boston]

Birth Control

Whereas it is becoming increasingly clear that, in the interest of social betterment, racial progress, and a more wholesome family life, parenthood should be undertaken voluntarily and intelligently, with due regard for the mother's health and the children's welfare, both physical and moral, be it therefore

Resolved, That the American Unitarian Association recommends to its constituent churches and members an earnest consideration of the fundamental, social, economic, and eugenic importance of birth control, to the end that they may support all reasonable efforts in their communities for the promotion of the birth control movement.

For Chinese Children

In view of the deplorable lack of child welfare service in China, and the beginning of guidance and assistance from other peoples, be it resolved,

That the delegates of the American Unitarian Association, in annual meeting assembled, would express their sympathy with the efforts of the China Child Welfare Association, Inc., and the Chinese leaders associated with the Committee, to encourage and help organize child welfare centers of education, training, and relief in Shanghai, Nanking, and one or two other large cities—a program of modest proportions but full of hope and promise for the future.

George Washington, 1932

Resolved, That the American Unitarian Association, co-operate with the George Washington Commission created by act of Congress of the United States in arranging a fitting nation-wide observance of the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, in 1932:

Whereas, The Congress of the United States has created a Commission to arrange a fitting nation-wide observance of the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, in 1932, and

Whereas, The Commission so created composed of the President of the United States, the Vice-President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, four members of the United States Senate, four members of the House of Representatives, and eight citizens appointed by the President of the United States, is charged with the duty of planning and directing the celebration, and

Whereas, The high purpose of the event is to commemorate the life, character, and achievements of the most illustrious citizen of our Republic, and to give every man, woman, and child living under the Stars and Stripes an opportunity to take part in the celebration, which will be outstanding in the world's history, and

Whereas, The George Washington Bi-centennial Commission, desiring the full co-operation of the people in the United States, has extended a most cordial and urgent invitation to our organization to participate in the celebration, therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Unitarian Association does hereby endorse the program of the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington, to take place in 1932; accept with appreciation the invitation of the George Washington Bi-centennial Commission, and pledge this organization to extend earnest co-operation to the United States Commission in all possible ways, so that future generations of American citizens may be inspired to live according to the example and precepts of Washington's exalted life and character and thus perpetrate the American Republic; and be it further

Resolved, That this resolution be incorporated in the official proceedings of this meeting and that a copy thereof be transmitted to the George Washington Bi-centennial Commission, Washington, D. C.

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